

Africa

December, 1957
Volume 2, Number 11

SPECIAL REPORT



Air View of Dakar, Capital of French West Africa

Pressure for Self-Rule In French Black Africa

UNIVERSITY
DEC 19 1957
LIBRARY

WAR IN ALGERIA, the recent dispute over U. S. and British arms shipments to Tunisia, and the visit to Washington of King Mohammed V of newly-independent Morocco all bring into sharp focus France's shifting relations with her present and former territories in North Africa.

Lesser known, but of major significance to all of Africa, is the developing bid for self-determination in French territories South of the Sahara. Here, in a vast area nearly the size of the United States, African leaders are asserting the "inalienable right" of all peoples to independence. As the initiative passes increasingly into African hands, many of the leaders remain willing to accept the economic and cultural benefits of a French-African "Community," but they are reported to be contending more and more that this must be a community of equals.

The new trends in African thinking were demonstrated recently at a conference in Bamako, French West Africa, of the "Rassemblement Démocratique Africain" (RDA), one of the strongest political bodies in Africa South of the Sahara.

On the following pages, the Bamako Conference is analyzed for "Africa Special Report" by Thomas Hodgkin, who has traveled extensively in French Africa and is author of the book "Nationalism in Colonial Africa," published by Muller, London. A former fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, Mr. Hodgkin is currently in the U. S. as a visiting lecturer with the African Studies Program of Northwestern University—R.C.K.





PALACE OF THE GRAND COUNCIL OF FRENCH WEST AFRICA IN DAKAR

AFTER BAMAKO

By THOMAS HODGKIN

FROM September 25th to September 30th some 2,500 delegates of the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (RDA), from ten French African Territories, met in conference at Bamako, the capital of the French Sudan.

Historically this was an extremely interesting occasion, and many speakers so referred to it, sincerely, and not—as often—for rhetorical effect. Why? First, the RDA is unquestionably the most powerful political party (or, as it prefers to describe itself, political "movement"¹) in French Africa south of the Sahara.² The RDA controls the new territorial governments in the French Sudan, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Haute-Volta, and Chad, and has an effective organization and some real popular following in Niger, Dahomey, Gabon, and Moyen-Congo.

Second, this was the first occasion on which the RDA has met in full conference since its second, Abidjan conference, in 1949. In the last eight years a great deal of water has flowed down the Niger; and there have been large changes—in the RDA's policy, the French policy, and in the total African and world situation. The frequent postponements of the long-projected Bamako conference were in part connected with the RDA leadership's realization that any plenary session would mean bringing into the open basic controversies that have hitherto been shelved, or dealt with by processes of diplomacy and adjustment within the party's ruling group.

Third, Bamako itself is a city which enjoys a certain historic importance. It was here that the RDA was born, at the founding conference held in October, 1946. Since that date Bamako has been the headquarters of the steadiest, and probably the best organized, of all the RDA's *sections*, which has developed its own peculiarly effective form of collective leadership.

Moreover, Bamako lies near the probable site of Niani, the capital of the kingdom of Mali, the greatest of the western Sudanese medieval empires, whose authority reached in the 14th Century from Senegal in the west to the Hausa States (in what is now northern Nigeria) in the east—and serves as a reminder and an encouragement to those who wish to recreate a large self-governing State in this region of modern Africa.

THE ISSUES AT BAMAKO

Four main issues (related both to one another and to many other more detailed questions) confronted the Bamako conference:

- The future political organization of French Africa, and especially of French West Africa;
- The future basis of relationships between French Africa and metropolitan France;
- The future relations between the RDA and other political parties and movements in French Africa;
- The future leadership of the party.

STATES RIGHTS OR STRONG FEDERAL POWER?

1. Background

The first issue is, essentially, a restatement in the contemporary French African setting of the familiar controversy over States' rights versus federal power. As a result of constitutional reforms roughly outlined in the French *Loi-Cadre* of 2 June 1956, political power has already begun to be transferred from the French metropolitan government to predominantly African governments, and this process is likely to continue further. But to which institutions should power be transferred—state or federal? How far should the eight Territories of French West Africa, and the four Territories of French Equatorial

¹ According to strict French African political logic, "parties" are based upon specific, clearly defined, ideologies; while "movements" are more comprehensive, can include with themselves many ideologies, and are given definition and direction by their objectives. The RDA, being "poly-ideological but uni-objective" (so to speak), is a "movement", not a "party". But, since it clearly possesses the structure of a "party", I propose to refer to it as such.

² *Afrique Noire* is the convenient French term, used to refer to the whole complex of French African territories south of the Sahara—the two Territories of Togoland and the Cameroons—for which it is simplest here to use the term "French Africa".

Africa, be regarded, each in its own right as the real emergent States within French Africa? ³ How far, on the other hand, should the institutional framework of the two Federations be retained and adapted for African needs? ⁴

The *Loi-Cadre*, and the consequent decrees made under the Law, on the whole came down heavily on the sides of States' rights, to wit:

- The existing Territorial Assemblies, elected on a basis of universal suffrage and a common roll, their numbers enlarged, were granted genuine legislative powers over a reasonably wide field, including agriculture, forestry, and fisheries; aspects of primary and secondary education; health; co-operation, produce inspection, internal trade and savings banks; town planning, public libraries, cultural centers, etc.
- Associated with these Assemblies, and effectively responsible to them, territorial *Conseils de Gouvernement* (Executive Councils) were established, all of whose members were drawn from the Assembly—with the exception of the Governor-President: but even here it was implied that the effective head of the Council would be the elected Vice-President who, in fact though not in name, would function as a territorial Prime Minister.

But while a real measure of internal autonomy was conceded at the territorial level, no provision was made for a similar pattern of authority at the level of the two Federations—now described as "groups" of Territories.

Here, power was to be exercised, more or less bureaucratically, by the High Commissioner and his staff, whose functions were conceived as being simply to coordinate territorial policies, particularly in the economic field, in consultation with the territorial authorities, as well as to exercise certain reserved powers—in such fields as foreign relations, security, and defense—on behalf of the French Republic.

These, broadly, were the lines of constitutional reform which had been sponsored by M. Felix Houphouet-Boigny, President of the RDA since its foundation, who, as Minister without Portfolio in successive French Cabinets since the beginning of 1956, has had a special responsibility for steering the new legislation through the French Parliament.

2. The Position at Bamako

But the reforms have been vigorously criticized, from the standpoint of their inadequacy and territorial bias, by M. Leopold-Sedar Senghor, leader of the *Bloc Populaire Senegalais* (the dominant party in Senegal), who has argued that they must inevitably lead to the "Balkanisation" of French Africa—that is, to the emergence of a multiplicity of weak African States, which would remain in practice in a "colonial" type relationship to France. This view has also been widely held within the RDA, particularly among the party's *militants*, but also among important sections of its leadership.⁵

The Federalists had already, before Bamako, won an im-



portant round of the contest when the *Grand Conseil* of all French West Africa (consisting of forty members, five elected by each Territorial Assembly, rather more than half of whom are RDA supporters) voted unanimously in favor of a resolution demanding the setting-up of a responsible Federal Executive.

At Bamako they won another round, after a prolonged and exhausting struggle, when the conference approved a resolu-

³ I am leaving out of account here the special problems of the two Trust Territories—French Togoland and Cameroons—where the influence of the RDA is at present relatively restricted.

⁴ There are obvious parallels with the problem as it presents itself in Nigeria (except that, on the whole, the individual Territories of French West and Equatorial Africa have even less of a basis of ethnic homogeneity than the three Nigerian regions).

⁵ Except in the Ivory Coast. The strength of particularism among the RDA's leadership in the Ivory Coast seems partly connected with that Territory's relatively favorable economic position: here again there are interesting parallels with the particularism of the Action Group in Western Nigeria, and of the National Liberation Movement in Ashanti.



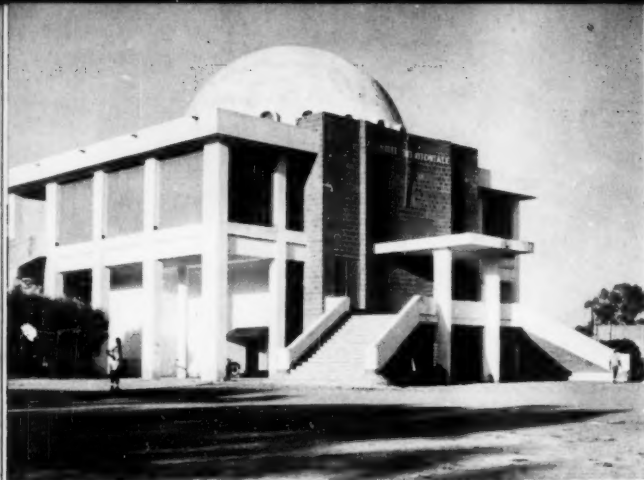
HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY
... reelected President of RDA



SEKOU TOURE
... leads swing to nationalism



SENGHOR
... hits 'Balkanization'



TERRITORIAL ASSEMBLY BUILDING AT BAMAKO,
FRENCH SUDAN

tion insisting on the "democratisation" of the organs of federal government.

M. Denise, the RDA Vice-President of the Ivory Coast Executive Council, was even reported to have been booed when he tried to defend the States' rights thesis. His only real support, outside the Ivory Coast, appears to have come from M. Leon M'Ba, Vice-President of the Gabon Executive Council and leader of the Gabon delegation.

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

1. Bamako Asserts "right to independence"

There is an obvious connection between the "apparently unimportant, but really fundamental" Federal Executive issue and the problem of French-African relationships.

Superficially there was complete agreement at Bamako as regards the need (as the conference's final resolution put it) to "realize and reinforce a democratic and fraternal French-African community, based on the principle of equality."

But words are elusive: for the resolution also made clear that, in adhering to the conception of French-African interdependence, the conference none the less "considered that all peoples had an inalienable right to independence".

The peoples of French Africa, in agreeing (for the present at any rate) to limit their exercise of that right, were doing so because in the 20th Century there was an evident need for "large political and economic groupings"; and because such a limitation (with its corollary of the continuance of large-scale French public, and increasing private, investment in French Africa) was judged to be "in the interests of the mass of the people".

To reject such a beneficial form of association was described by M. D'Arboussier as a form of "intellectual vanity". Thus the French can reasonably congratulate themselves (as they have been doing) that there was no overt secessionism at Bamako. At the same time they have to realize that such formulae as "independence with interdependence", "free association", and "French-African community", can (as the recent history of French-Tunisian relations has revealed) be interpreted in different ways.

2. Pressure for equality with France

The dominant trend of opinion within the RDA, which supported the demand for Federal Executives, based much of

its argument on the need for a "strong" Africa, able to ensure that the "French-African community" was based upon ties of mutual and equal advantage, and not merely upon sentiment. As one delegate put it—"to talk of a French-African community is idle unless there is an African community."

Here again there were really two theses confronting one another at Bamako:

- According to M. Houphouët's thesis, the various autonomous African territories should be associated individually in some form of quasi-federal system with metropolitan France. In the past he has even argued that this form of association could be fitted into the existing constitution of the French Republic. And even at Bamako he did not seem to contemplate any immediate further weakening of the central power of the French Parliament in relation to the African territories.
- M. Sékou Touré on the other hand—the Guinea RDA leader and Vice-President, and chief exponent of the more radical approach to the problem of future French-African relationships—clearly conceives that the "democratized" Federal Executives of French West and Equatorial Africa must be based upon Federal parliaments, elected by universal suffrage. In such a situation, legislative and executive power (over and above the powers now exercised by the territorial assemblies and governments) would be transferred from Paris to Dakar and Brazzaville; the Ministry of Overseas France would, presumably, wither away; and there would no longer be either need or justification for African representatives in the French Parliament. Instead, federal (or confederal?) institutions of a new type would have to be created—within which all the member States of the French-African community (including the two African Federations and France) would be represented—with certain clearly defined functions, mainly in the fields of foreign, military, and economic policy.

In calling for the reconstruction of the French Republic on federal lines, the Bamako conference seems to have leaned towards a solution of the second type.

3. The Attraction of French Economic Aid

In this great debate two quite different considerations, pointing in contradictory directions, influenced the way in which both the leadership and the rank-and-file delegates conceived of this "French-African community"—on the one hand Africa's economic needs, on the other the Algerian war.

Neither those, of M. Houphouët's school of thought, who stressed the importance of retaining close constitutional ties with France, nor those who, following M. Sékou Touré, advocated a looser, more flexible, more equal, basis of relationships, questioned the value of continuing French economic assistance.⁶ M. Lisette (a French West Indian, who leads the RDA in Chad, and plays a large part in the central direction of the

⁶ Mr. Kenneth Robinson, in an unpublished paper on *Constitutional Reform in French Tropical Africa*, quotes the figure of approximately £115 million as the (1955) total for the French Government's expenditure on the Overseas Territories (including military and headquarters services, as well as development); and a figure estimated as between £17 million and £24 million for the amount of relief which territorial Governments should receive as a result of the new basis of distinction between territorial and State services. (These figures refer, of course, to all the Overseas Territories, including Madagascar, etc. But they give some idea of the present scale of assistance.)

AFRICA SPECIAL REPORT is published monthly at 1234 20th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Cable: AFAM, WASHINGTON

Editorial Staff:

Robert C. Keith, Chief
S. A. Binenkorb, Editorial Assistant
Betty Lou Lawton, Circulation

Africa Special Report welcomes but cannot assume responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts.

© The African-American Institute, Inc., 1957

Articles in Africa Special Report are independently selected and edited by the editorial staff and do not necessarily reflect the views of the African-American Institute or its membership. Responsibility for accuracy of facts and opinions expressed rests solely with individual correspondents and staff writers.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$1 per year. For airmail rates see Page 16.

Advertising rates on request.

NEXT MONTH

Power from Water — a Photo Report on
Africa's Hydroelectric Potential

French Africa South of the Sahara

- Territorial boundaries
- Federal boundaries
- xxxx International boundaries
- Rivers
- ⊙ Federal capitals
- Territorial capitals

FRENCH WEST AFRICA: Senegal, Mauritania, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomey, Sudan, Niger; pop. 18,779,000; 1.8 million sq. mi.; capital: Dakar.

FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA: Chad, Gabon, Middle Congo, Ubangi-Shari; pop. 4,769,415; 969,000 sq. mi.; capital: Brazzaville.

U.N. Trust Territories: TOGO; pop. 1,091,000; 21,500 sq. mi.; cap. Lome; CAMEROUN; pop. 3,156,127; 166,800 sq. mi.; cap. Yaounde.



party) vigorously attacked what he called "Cartierist defeatism".

The difference turned rather on the question whether effective economic aid could be combined with a radical loosening of the constitutional ties, or whether the continuance of a relatively tightly-knit constitutional system was the price that Africa must pay for French investment and technicians.

A recent article in *Marchés Tropicaux du Monde* (a journal which partially reflects French colonial opinion), commenting on Bamako, underlines this notion that economic aid must be regarded as a sort of *pourboire*, in return for political amenability—pointing out that "capital is flowing into the Ivory Coast, whose leader (M. Denise) is pursuing a straight-forward policy" (with the implication that capital may not flow so abundantly into M. Sékou Touré's Guinea, whose policy is less congenial to French business).

4. The Disruptive Influence of War in Algeria

If economic needs and pressures may, at least in the short run, be a force tending to consolidate the "French-African community", the Algerian conflict is certainly a force tending to disrupt it.

M. Mendes-France, who attended the conference as a fraternal delegate, was loudly applauded when he denounced the Indo-Chinese and Algerian wars, but heard in silence when he spoke of the scale of French credits to Africa. Most speakers referred to the Algerian tragedy, demanding an immediate cease-fire and negotiations; some went further, and demanded the recognition of Algerian nationhood.

The final resolution (a stiffening of the original draft) insisted that whatever affected any member of the "French-African community" was the concern of all its constituent parts, and launched an urgent appeal to the French Government to negotiate with "the authentic representatives of the Algerian people", with a view to "ending this fratricidal struggle".

While the Bamako conference by no means endorsed all the demands of FLN, it made clear that there is a genuine sense of inter-African solidarity; and that the longer the Algerian war drags on, the more precarious become the prospects of any kind of "French-African community".

⁷ A reference to the argument for abandoning the Overseas Territories, as millstones round the French neck, advanced by M. Raymond Cartier in three articles in *Paris-Match*, 11, 18 Aug., and 1 Sept., 1956.

⁸ *La Croisade des Chemins*, in *Marchés Tropicaux du Monde*, 12 Oct., 1957.

PARTY UNITY—RDA'S ACHIEVEMENT

The RDA delegates at Bamako expressed their confidence, not only in the power of their party, but also in its capacity to preserve fundamental unity while permitting internal difference. This realization, over a large area of West Africa, of a political organization which combines unity with diversity is itself a remarkable achievement.

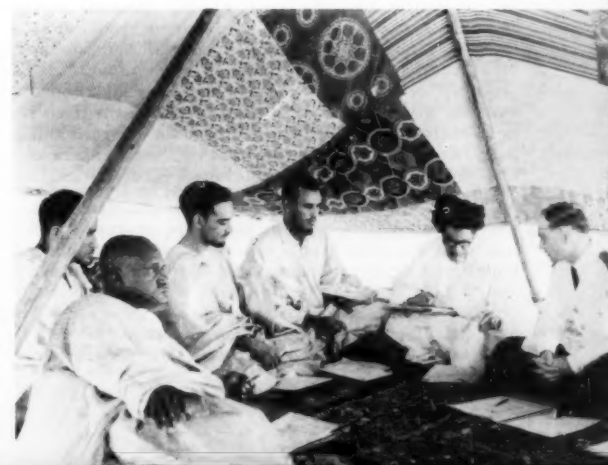
M. Sékou Toure, in accepting a compromise resolution on the issue of Federal Executives which he personally regarded as inadequate, made clear to his dissatisfied supporters that he did so in the interests of party unity.

It remains to be seen whether this strong sentiment of party loyalty, developed over the past 11 years, which has brought the RDA from its 1950 position, of a hunted—and almost proscribed—organization, to a situation in which it has become the main arbiter and architect of French African institutions, can be preserved—and even, possibly, extended.

Here, two main problems arise:

One is the question whether the Ivory Coast, and (which matters much less) Gabon, sections, which did not disguise their dissatisfaction with the majority's support for Federal Executives, can be retained within the party. (Some Ivory Coast delegates are reported to have said that it would not take much to persuade their RDA-controlled Territorial Assembly to demand secession from the "democratised" French West African Federation.)

The other question is—Will it now be possible to realize the long-discussed "regrouping", or unification, of the RDA with



CABINET MEETING, desert style. Mauritania Government Council meets under a tent.



NEW BRIDGE AT ABIDJAN, IVORY COAST

France's Contributions

the other two political movements which have sought—a good deal less successfully—to build up pan-French-African organizations, the *Convention Africaine* and the *Movement Socialiste Africain*?

In practical political terms, the *Convention Africaine* is an extension of M. Senghor's party, the BPS, which controls Senegal, and is based on the same kind of alliance between radical intellectuals, middle class, peasantry, Trade Unions, and traditional religious and secular leaders, as is the RDA in the territories in which it is dominant.

The MSA—an "Africanised" redeployment of the old Socialist Party—apart from its traditional strongholds, such as Dakar and St-Louis, has its most coherent and best organized body of support in Niger.

Both movements have minority followings elsewhere.

On all major issues the policies and programmes of the RDA, as defined at Bamako, and of the *Convention Africaine*, as defined at Dakar last January, are almost identical: on certain questions, particularly the Federal Executive and Algeria, the RDA has moved much closer to the Convention's position. M. Mamadou Dia, the *Convention's* fraternal delegate at Bamako, spoke as warmly in favor of unification as M. Ouezin Coulibaly, the RDA's fraternal delegate at Dakar nine months earlier. And among the *militants* of both—probably of all three—movements, interested above all in ensuring that Africa is in a position to bargain from strength in its dealings with France, the idea of an enlarged and unified party, which can speak for Africans with even greater authority than the RDA as at present constituted, naturally finds support.

This attitude was reflected in the Bamako resolution, which, without making any specific proposals, expressed satisfaction regarding the project of a *rencontre*, which might lead to a regrouping, of African parties, and instructed the party's executive to take steps to organize such a *rencontre*. But, as the experience of Senegal has already shown, there are large practical difficulties—both institutional and personal—to be overcome, if unification on a pan-French-African basis is really to be achieved.

The French Government is investing between two hundred and two hundred fifty million dollars each year in Africa South of the Sahara, in the form of grants, loans or the buying of public stocks, according to a government economic specialist.

The figure was disclosed by Pierre Moussa, author of the recent book *Les chances économiques de la Communauté France-Africaine*, and Director of Affairs and Planning in the Ministry of France Overseas—French counterpart to the British Colonial Office. In recent addresses to several academic groups in the United States, Moussa said France's total worldwide investments of public funds rank her second only to the U. S. in the investment of taxpayers' money in underdeveloped areas.

In Africa, France's investments have "primed the pump" so that for every one hundred million dollars spent by the French taxpayer "an additional two hundred twenty million dollars are contributed, most of it by the Africans themselves."

The monies go to such projects as development of roads, ports and sources of energy, as well as seed improvement and popularization of modern farming methods, Moussa said.

The word to remember in French overseas investments is FIDES, which is Latin for "faith" and is the short form for France's overseas economic and social development fund.* According to Moussa, almost all French government overseas investment is handled through FIDES, with only one-fifth of

* Fonds d'Investissement pour le Développement Economique et Social des Territoires d'Outre-Mer.

THE QUESTION OF PARTY LEADERSHIP

1. Not Entirely a Matter of Personalities

The problem of the party's leadership is inseparable from the problem of the party's policies. To present the issue in terms of a conflict between M. Houphouët, representing the more conservative, Francophile trend within the party, and M. Sékou Touré, representing its more radical, "nationalist" wing, is obviously an oversimplification. To describe internal party conflicts in the language of personalities may be a means of throwing them into sharper relief (and therefore within the party itself they are often so described—e.g. the recent history of "Bevanism" within the British Labour Party), but at the cost of obscuring them behind a mythology. It would be better, perhaps, to state the problem in this way:

2. Houphouët's Early Guidance

In the course of its eleven years of life the RDA has evolved a reasonably effective form of collective leadership, operating through a group of some twenty individuals (members, for the most part, of the Central *Comité de Co-ordination*), a group which has maintained a remarkable degree of stability over the decade.

Most of these leaders are now either members of the French Parliament, or chief ministers in one or other of the African territorial governments, or hold high positions in the federal *Grand Conseil*, or enjoy some combination of these responsibilities. In addition each of them owes his position in the party in some measure to the relationship in which he stands to the middle and lower levels of the party leadership—within his own territory primarily, but also, in some cases, outside—and to the leadership of other functional organizations, formally or informally linked with the RDA, e.g. the Trade Unions.

Within this higher leadership of the RDA M. Houphouët occupies a special position: both as the original founding President of the Party; as standing in something of a paternal relationship, in virtue both of age and status, to the rest of the group; as having acquired in the early 1940's a semi-mystical kind of authority (strengthened by official repression, or persecution, during the time of troubles, in 1949-50) in

the money specifically designated by Paris for general projects and the remaining four-fifths earmarked for local projects voted on by local representative assemblies.

To develop the economy of French Africa, France is concentrating her efforts at two levels: market stabilization and support of prices, and promotion of large scale investments, Moussa said. One step toward achievement of these objectives has been the association of France's Africa territories with the European Economic Community, in the controversial "Eur-africa" scheme announced in March. According to Moussa, this will give the French African territories access to a market three times as large as the French market.

At the political level, France has taken two major steps in Black Africa since the war, Moussa pointed out. At the "Brazzaville Conference" in 1944, under the leadership of General De Gaulle, the groundwork was laid for the extension of effective powers to local assemblies. Last year the historic *loi-cadre*, or basic law, was introduced, allowing for implementation of 1) *universal suffrage*, 2) a single *electoral college*, eliminating separate voters rolls for Europeans, 3) transfer of *actual legislative power* to territorial assemblies, and 4) creation of *Government Councils*, in the various territories. These Councils are equivalent to cabinets, each having a "Vice-President" who in effect is Premier.

Commented Moussa: "the new institutions are flexible enough to be later adapted to new situations. In fact, the Territories themselves and France are aware that this evolution is already taking place, in a spirit of mutual confidence."

his own territory, the Ivory Coast; and as having steered the party, with considerable success, through this period of storm into relatively calm waters, in which it has been able to refit and reorganize itself." All these facts help to explain why M. Houphouët's views have to be respected; why he cannot be easily discarded; and why, in the event, he was unanimously re-elected as the party's President at Bamako.

3. New Forces Stir, Crystallize around Sékou Touré

At the same time new forces have been stirring within the RDA, particularly since 1955—with the promulgation of the *Loi-Cadre*, the achievement of Ghana's independence, the intensification of the Algerian war, and so forth.

These forces might be labelled, for simplicity, as "nationalist," in that they seek increasing power for Africans within French Africa, and increasing disengagement (without total separation) of Africa from France. They have asserted themselves in various fields: in the Trade Unions; in student and younger intellectual circles; in Moslem and Christian groups—as well as in the more strictly political organizations.

Within the RDA they have tended to crystallize around M. Sékou Touré, because he is an outstandingly able and attractive person.

But others within the RDA's collective leadership (M. Ouezzin Coulibaly, for example) have been travelling in the same direction. In this situation M. Houphouët has inevitably tended to lose ground, to become somewhat *dépassé* (as French Africans put it).

This is mainly because his involvement in every French Government over almost the past two years has obliged him to tread in the old track, of "constructive collaboration" with the French authorities, during a period when this policy has



ALL PHOTOS accompanying this article courtesy French Embassy Press & Information Service, 972 Fifth Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

become somewhat outmoded, and when collaboration has meant the acceptance of responsibility for French policies which the *militants* of RDA have rejected—not only over Algeria, and the "Balkanising" implications of the *Loi-Cadre*, but also over a variety of detailed issues.

The criticisms of M. Houphouët at Bamako turned principally (as some delegations put it) on his willingness to let his preoccupations as a Minister of the French Republic take precedence over the policies desired by the African masses. Some delegates even attributed his opposition to Federal Executives in Dakar and Brazzaville to his concern, as a Minister in the Bourges-Manoury Government, over the fate of the abortive Algerian *Loi-Cadre* (designed to ensure that the Algerians did *not* control power at the center), then under debate in Paris.

This increasing isolation of M. Houphouët from the new forces operating within the party which he still leads seemed to be symbolized by his residence—as a visiting French Minister—in the Governor's palace on the imperial heights of Koulouba, while the remainder of the delegates stayed below in the plains, in the Sudanese city of Bamako.

4. Houphouët's Choice

At one stage it seemed likely that M. Houphouët would be confronted with a clear choice—between the role of French Minister and the role of RDA President. But two days of feverish behind-the-scenes discussion (which prolonged the conference from the scheduled period of four days to six) finally produced a compromise which enabled him to combine both—for the moment. But the necessity of choosing—with which the whole question of the future leadership of RDA is bound up—remains real. The conference's final word to M. Houphouët was that he must represent their views, not his personal opinions, in Paris.

The implication of Bamako is not that M. Sékou Touré will necessarily displace M. Houphouët as party chief; but that M. Houphouët, if he remains party chief, will have to move much closer to the policies with which M. Sékou Touré has come to be identified.

* The fact that D'Arboussier, who during the years from 1950 to 1955 was the main opponent, from a Marxist standpoint, of the policy of "constructive collaboration" with the French Government and Administration, made his peace with M. Houphouët in 1956, and is now again almost in the position of his personal adviser and spokesman, is itself significant.)



THE Federation of Nigeria, standing now on the threshold of independence, is the largest, most densely populated, and thus, from many viewpoints, the most important of the remaining British colonial territories, yet it is one of the least known to American businessmen. On the average, according to the United States Department of Commerce, fewer than 200 Americans visit Nigeria each year, and they, for the most part, are Government officials, missionaries, or academic researchers, rather than potential investors.

Last month, the Commerce Department moved to plug the businessman's gap in information. Featuring the West African colony in a major background survey (*Investment in Nigeria*, Supt. of Documents, U. S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., 182 pp., \$1), Commerce tells U. S. investors how Nigeria offers both a challenge and an opportunity for "getting in on the ground floor" in a country which has made only a "bare start toward realization of (its) full requirements or potentialities."

The survey was directed by Bernard Blankenheimer, chief of Commerce's Africa Division, who points out that Nigeria:

- embraces an area over one-tenth that of the United States,
- is a primary and important world producer of cocoa, palm produce, timber, peanuts, tin and columbite,
- has a population of some 34 million, of whom less than 20,000 are white or non-African, making it the most heavily-populated single state and the largest single aggregation of Negro peoples on the African continent, accounting for 17 per cent of the total.
- looks eagerly to the United States for assistance in its economic development, and has been sending a number of her

leading figures—African and British—to the U. S. recently to investigate possibilities of stepping up investment inflow.

According to the survey, which is hopeful on many counts, almost all economic indicators within Nigeria "point to a sustained expansion and economic growth."

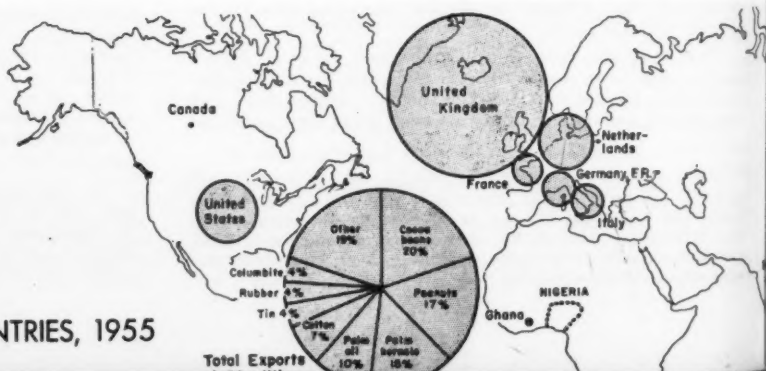
On the questions of future political stability and cooperation between Nigeria's diversely-peopled regions, the survey finds "no present justification for pessimism." As for safety of investments in a country which hopes to make the change from colony to independent state in 1960 (April 2 of that year is the target date of Nigeria's leaders), the report is particularly encouraging. It points out that Federal and Regional Government policies are aimed at providing a genuinely favorable investment climate, and says there is no reason to believe that such policies will change as a result of internal or external political developments.

"Indeed," it continues, "many observers believe that realization of political independence will in fact lead government to pursue even more vigorous policies of inducing foreign capital to enter the country. American private investment particularly is favorably regarded . . ."

The survey sees "no readymade or dramatic large-scale investment opportunities" in Nigeria and notes that "agriculture offers and is likely to remain the most promising general investment field, but here, too, the opportunities are in the nature of long-term ventures . . ."

Per capita income is low—\$70 a year—but according to the Commerce Department's figures, Nigeria had a gross domestic product of nearly two billion dollars as far back as 1953, and a total external trade of \$800 million last year. Statistics in the survey indicate that sales by the large British trading firm, United Africa Company of Nigeria, Ltd., account for perhaps 45 per cent of Nigeria's imports. The report notes that Nigeria's vast population provides a market of great potential consumptive capacity, with a steadily increasing demand for goods and services of all kinds.

The various economic activities described in the survey point up Nigeria's advantage over other underdeveloped economies that depend primarily on one crop. Nigeria has a diversified resource structure based on three major crops—palm, peanuts and cocoa—certain important mineral resources, and a number of interesting possibilities for industrialization, all of which seems to auger well for a bright economic future.—R.C.K.



EXPORTS TO SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1955

► **DEADLOCK CONTINUED** in Kenya this month after African members of the Legislative Council rejected and denounced as "trickery" a new constitution introduced by British Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd.

On Nov. 8 in Nairobi, at the conclusion of consultations in the three East African territories, Mr. Lennox-Boyd scrapped the "Lyttleton" Constitution under which Kenya has been governed since 1954. Asserting that Kenya would remain under British rule for "many years to come," he announced the following changes:

- provision for six more directly elected African representatives on the Legislative Council, bringing elected African representation to 14--equal to the number of representatives elected by Kenya's Europeans.
- creation of another 12 seats, divided equally among Europeans, Asians and Africans, on the non-Government side of the Council, the members to be chosen initially by the Council itself in secret balloting. The ratio of this group of seats is to remain the same for the next ten years, but the number may be increased and the method of selection changed, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said. Presumably, these seats can eventually be filled by "common role" elections (all racial groups voting together)--a step which has been prescribed frequently as a way of curbing racism in Kenya political campaigns.
- creation of a "Council of State" to "protect any one community against discriminatory legislation harmful to its interests." This body is to have certain powers of "delay, revision, and reference," with its exact powers, functions and composition to be determined later in consultations between London and the Kenya Government. One of its functions will be to approve any change in the method of filling the 12 new seats mentioned above. Presumably, this could mean it will have a major say on the thorny question of African qualifications and voting power in the event the new category of seats becomes subject to popular election.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd called for the evolution of a society "in which all races can live happily and fruitfully together and British traditions and standards can be maintained."

He added, significantly, that he did not "see any prospect in the foreseeable future" for a British Colonial Secretary "to abandon his responsibilities in respect of Kenya." He said he believed that "for many years to come it will be necessary for the Government of (Kenya) to include a certain number of official members and for ultimate control to remain with a Governor responsible to H.M. Government in the United Kingdom."

Five days later, and after "very serious consideration," the eight African elected members now serving on the Legislative Council (LEGO) announced their rejection of the Lennox-Boyd plan in a four-page statement.

They called on the British government to convene instead a constitutional conference "preceded by a

report by a constitutional expert and presided over by an impartial expert."

Expressing their "personal regard for Mr. Lennox-Boyd's human qualities," they said he had "imposed" the new provisions without adequate consultation and was resorting to "old-fashioned, colonial and imperialist technique used in the past to preserve colonial rule and in this case continue to ensure white settler domination."

The Africans, under the leadership of Tom Mboya, trade unionist and LEGO member from Nairobi, have been protesting Kenya's constitutional arrangements since their election to LEGO in March and have refused to participate in the Council of Ministers.

Their Nov. 13 statement stressed that "the future is still left blank"--a reference to their long-standing contention that the British Government, while introducing various constitutional arrangements, has not expressed any clear views as to the direction in which Kenya political developments should be heading. The Africans said they seek "transition" to "democratic" (i.e. African) rule as the long-term objective, and indicated that only when this goal is accepted will it "be possible for us all to agree on phases of development."

The Africans reacted strongly against a European member's reported comment that the new Lennox-Boyd Constitution would prevent "another Ghana" in Kenya.

Retorted the Africans: "Taking Ghana as a democracy with universal franchise as its basis one must ask what is the alternative that the Europeans offer --a Central African or South African Regime? If it is a bus ride we are invited to join let us have in clear and definite term the destination, for unless we are agreed on this we certainly shall not agree as to the route."

The European and Asian groups indicated their acceptance of the Lennox-Boyd plan before the African rejection.

Returning to London, Mr. Lennox-Boyd told the House of Commons he did not regard the African statement as representative of African opinion as a whole, and on Nov. 21 it was announced that the plan was confirmed after consultation with Prime Minister Macmillan.

The same day in Nairobi, the Africans denounced British "trickery" and "self-deception" and said they would go to the country for a vote of confidence if necessary.

► **PROTESTS** were exchanged between Ethiopia, Britain, and Kenya last month over reported tribal clashes on the Ethiopia-Kenya border.

Kenya claimed 104 Turkana men, women and children were killed by armed Ethiopian tribesmen. Ethiopia subsequently protested that Turkana tribesmen and Kenya police made a "wanton raid" resulting in the death of 23 Ethiopians.

► **IN OUAGADOUGOU**, in the French West Africa interior, a prince with a reported 200 wives has been installed as 35th moro naba (emperor) of the Mossi Empire. Prince Moussa Congo, 35, was enthroned under the name Kougri Bnaba in spectacular traditional festivities. The Mossi people, former conquerors of Timbuctoo, are now said to number 2.5 million.

► THE ELECTIVE principle is being introduced in the Belgian Congo Dec. 8 for the first time in the colony's history. Europeans and Africans go to the polls in Leopoldville, the Congo capital, and in Elizabethville and Jadotville, the two main cities in the Katanga mining province. They will nominate panels of urban councilors to advise local Belgian authorities.

► IN LONDON, the House of Commons declined to block the Central African Federation's Constitution Amendment Bill, although the Federation's African Affairs Board said the bill discriminated against Africans.

A Labour motion, asking that the bill not be submitted to the Queen for approval, was defeated 301-245 after lengthy debate Nov. 25.

► THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE officially opened its West Africa office Nov. 19 in ceremonies at the Ambassador Hotel, Accra. Talks marking the occasion were given by C.T. Nylander, Ghana Minister of Education, and Harold K. Hochschild, Chairman of the Institute's Executive Committee.

The office will aid African and American organizations and individuals interested in establishing closer contacts and will facilitate the planning and administration of the Institute's programs overseas. Heading the office (Box 2192, Accra, Ghana) is E. Jefferson Murphy, former Director of Programs for the Institute in Washington.

The African-American Institute is a private, non-profit, non-partisan organization devoted to better understanding between Africa and the United States. Founded in 1953, the Institute administers the largest private scholarship and assistance program in the United States devoted exclusively to African students.

In addition the Institute provides teachers for African schools, sponsors Africa House in Washington, publishes *Africa Special Report* and offers hospitality services for African visitors.

► A TWO-MAN Soviet delegation arrived in Ghana last month to discuss Ghanaian plans for sending a trade mission to Moscow next year. The Soviet envoys were also expected to broach the possibility of opening a Russian embassy in Accra.

► APARTHEID was set aside in South Africa last month for R.C. Simpson, a senior official in the Ghana survey department, who attended an African map & survey conference in Cape Town. He stayed at the exclusive Mount Nelson hotel, used mostly by British residents and tourists who paid little attention to his presence, according to press reports.

► SIR ERNEST OPPENHEIMER, who headed the De Beers gold, diamond, copper and uranium interests in South and Central Africa, died in Johannesburg last month at the age of 77.

► A NATIONAL CONTROVERSY flared up in South Africa last month over Government plans to reserve certain jobs in the clothing industry for whites only. An estimated 14,500 African, Asian and Coloured workers joined a protest walkout. The plan was also criticized by industrialists.

► UN BRIEFS:

• THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY has approved creation of an Economic Commission for Africa, 78-0 with Belgium abstaining.

• THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY on Nov. 30 adopted 50 to 1 with 29 abstentions a resolution calling for UN supervision of elections next year for the Legislative Assembly of French Togoland. The UN is then to decide whether to end its trusteeship over the West African territory. The U.S. supported the motion. Ghana was the lone opponent.

• A RESOLUTION aimed at seeking information from Portugal on her overseas territories in Africa and Asia was defeated in the UN General Assembly Nov. 26 when it failed to get a 2/3 majority. The 2/3 rule had been invoked for the measure by a two-vote margin, including the vote of South Africa which departed from its UN "boycott" for the balloting. Earlier, the motion passed the Trusteeship Committee 42 to 17 with 8 abstentions. This action was carried under banner headlines and strongly condemned in the Portuguese press. The U.S. opposed the resolution and supported the 2/3 rule on the General Assembly vote.

• THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY on Nov. 26 adopted by a vote of 59 to 6 with 14 abstentions a 29-nation resolution calling on South Africa to "revise its policy" of racial *apartheid* in the light of Charter principles and "world public opinion." The U.S. abstained.

On the same day the Assembly by a vote of 64 to 0 with 15 abstentions criticized South Africa's "reluctance" to negotiate with India and Pakistan on the treatment of Indians in South Africa and called on the three countries to resume talks on the question. The U.S. supported the motion.

• A NINETEEN country resolution calling on the UN Secretary-General to prepare a study on the so-called "Eurafrica" plan for linking non-self-governing territories with the European Common Market was passed by the General Assembly Nov. 26 over strong French objections. During debates in the Trusteeship Committee, supporters of the resolution suggested the plan could be an extension of "colonialism" while France called the objections "premature" and "beyond the competence of the Committee." The vote was 53 to 13 with 8 abstentions. The U.S. was opposed.

► LATE ITEMS: Two members of the Ghana parliament from Ho in the Togoland region were arrested Dec. 1 on charges of conspiracy...The South African Government refused without explanation Dec. 1 to grant a passport to Jariretundu Kozonguizi, a Herero from South-West Africa who had been invited to give views of his people to the United Nations in New York...A reported five hundred persons of all races gathered at Johannesburg Dec. 3 for a private three day conference to seek a formula for racial harmony...Prime Minister Garfield Todd of Southern Rhodesia threatened on Dec. 1 to introduce legislation to curb Southern Rhodesia's newly-formed African National Congress.

--R. C. Keith

business notes

- **THE BELGIAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS** on Nov. 13 decided to continue the preparatory work for the first stage of the vast Inga Dam Project in the Belgian Congo. Construction is expected to begin in the fall of 1959. The total scheme envisions creation of an African "Ruhr" in the Lower Congo, at an estimated cost of more than \$3 billion over a 30-year period.
- **SAHARA OIL EXPLORATION** and development has attracted a \$2.8 million investment from the Suez Canal Company in an agreement with two French investment corporations, according to a published statement from the company's director general. The French corporations, formed to finance petroleum exploration and development in the Sahara, are COPAREX (Cie. de Participations Recherches et Exploitation Pétrolière) and OMNIREX (Omnium de Recherches et Exploitations Pétrolières).
- **COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN TANGANYIKA**, 1957, a handbook published by the Government of Tanganyika to aid businessmen and potential investors in the British-administered trust territory, contains information on trade, finance, transportation, power and production. It may be ordered from Crown Agents Representative, 1800 K St., N.W., Washington 6, C.C. (\$1.00, 104 pages).
- **INCREASED DEMAND FOR INSTANT COFFEE** in the U.S. is a boon to Africa and has resulted in a major increase in African coffee imported here, the N.Y. Times reports. The lower priced African grades of soluble coffee are the major ingredient of most instant coffees and are generally priced considerably below Brazilian and Latin American grades. Imports from Africa this year are expected to be 3 million bags of green coffee, compared with 428,000 bags in 1949, according to the Times.
- **SOUTH AFRICAN SCIENTISTS** told a Washington, D.C., meeting that they are using U.S. patented methods of de-salting brackish water for about 30 cents per thousand gallons. Meanwhile American plants are using different methods costing about 70 cents per thousand gallons. A group of South African mining companies are planning a 2.8 million-gallons-a-day experimental plant in the Orange Free State to begin in 1958.
- **NYASALAND IS EXPANDING** its production of tung nuts, and recently opened a new \$126,000 tung oil crushing plant which will enable it to continue to compete in the American market. Nyasaland has recently been filling a U.S. quota of 41,544 pounds per month.
- **GHANA** has become a contracting party to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, raising the total GATT membership to 37 countries.
- **A NEW YORK STAMP DEALER**, Mr. M.R. Lehmann, in a 25-year contract with the Ghana Ministry of Communications, has established the Ghana Philatelic Agency to sell Ghana stamps to outside countries. In the first issue, scheduled for Dec. 22, more than 250,000 sets of three-value stamps commemorating the Black Star Line's inauguration will be distributed, most of them by the Agency in New York.
- **THE WORLD COCOA BEAN CROP** for 1957-58 has been forecast at 811,000 metric tons, or 10% smaller than the revised estimate of the 1956-57 crop, according to a report released by the UN Food & Agriculture Organization (FOA). World absorption of raw cocoa in 1958 has been forecast at 802,000 metric tons, or 9% smaller than the revised estimate for 1957, with a smaller consumption of cocoa anticipated in Europe and North America because of the higher price level of cocoa beans compared to prices for the first half of the year.
- **THE FRENCH CAMEROUN'S** aluminum plant at Edea is expected to import 20,000 tons of crude petroleum coke annually from the United States as production of aluminum reaches 30,000 tons in 1958.

- **A URANIUM VEIN** about 15 to 20 miles long and up to a mile wide has been reported found in the Namib Desert in South-West Africa by the Anglo-American Corporation.
- **FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND** plans to enter the castor bean and castor oil processing industry on a large scale. The government will sponsor visits of U.S. experts to advise breeders regarding hybrid seed suitable for the Rhodesian soil and climate. Oil from the new plant, which will cost \$2,800,000 and process 250,000 tons of castor beans annually, will be exported to the U.S.
- **GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY** announces that it will shortly mass-produce diamonds as clear and hard as those from South Africa. Next year it expects to reduce its present cost of \$425 per carat to the price of natural diamonds, now \$285 per carat.
- **AMERICAN BUSINESS** and economic studies are included in the list of 99 books which the American Veterans of World War II presented to the Embassy of Ghana in Washington. United States Information Agency selected the books, which will be delivered to Ghana through CARE.
- **UNITED STATES IMPORTS** from Africa totaled \$587 million in 1956, of which agricultural items accounted for \$313 million, or 53%, according to U.S. Department of Agriculture's booklet "Agricultural Policies of Foreign Governments." Special sections cover French West and Equatorial Africa, British West Africa, British East Africa, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and Union of South Africa. (141 pages, \$.70).
- **THE U.S. TRADE MISSION'S** recent visit to South Africa has resulted in an increase in the number of companies throughout Africa seeking American capital to expand and diversify their production and distribution lines. U.S. Commerce Department has available lists of these companies, their fields and basic interests. --D. Dies

New VISUAL-RELIEF WALL MAP contour coloring • relief shading



No. J4vr. Size 44x58". Scale 150 miles to the inch.

Editors:

Edwin S. Munger, Ph.D. and Benjamin E. Thomas, Ph.D.
1957 Publication.

Write for information to

DENOYER-GEPPERT CO.

Publishers—Importers—Exporters—Map Mounters

5235 Ravenswood Ave., Chicago 40, Ill.

WHO'S HERE THIS MONTH

●FIVE STUDENT ECONOMISTS from Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, and Somalia (Dec. - June), sponsored by the United Nations Bureau of Economic Affairs, will spend six months in New York training at the U.N.

●MR. H.V. ROBERTS, General Secretary of the Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg; in the U.S. under a Carnegie grant to observe the U.S. centers for international studies and for Africa studies.

THE FOLLOWING have received U.S. Specialists Grants. Coordinating agency: The International Educational Exchange Service, Department of State, 1910 K St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

●MR. VICTOR NORTON (Nov. - Jan.) from Cape Town, Union of South Africa. Since 1944, Editor of Cape Times, a liberal, politically independent daily. Interested in American attitudes toward individual rights, organization and communicative systems of press agencies, radio, television, and the film industry.

●MR. KING EDWARD MASINGA (Nov. 20- Jan. 14), Zululand. Chief producer and announcer of Bantu programs of the South African Broadcasting Corp., Durban. In U.S. to study radio techniques.

●SIR KOBINA ARKU KORSAH and LADY KORSAH (Dec. 2 - Jan. 30), from Accra, Ghana. Sir Korsah is the Chief Justice and former Acting Governor-General of Ghana. Lady Korsah is President of Ghana Children's Day Nurseries. In U.S. to study court systems, legal processes and nursery schools.

MR. WILLIAM L. TSITSIWU has been appointed Education Attache to the Embassy of Ghana in Washington, D. C., effective Dec. 1, 1957. The former headmaster was educated at Achimota College, Ghana, Glasgow University, the London University Institute of Education, and Columbia University, New York, and has had many years of teaching experience. Mr. Tsitsiwu replaces MR. W.A.R. WALKER, who will assume the post of British West Indies Students Liaison Officer.

AASUA DINNER DRAWS 300

Jollof rice shared the menu with Ghana peanut stew, Nigerian akara, and Ethiopian korowat at an African benefit dinner held on Sunday, Nov. 24, by the All African Students Union of the Americas. Students prepared and served the seven course dinner to 300 guests.



African Placement Service

► In the past month the African-American Institute has received the following requests from Africa: three separate inquiries for Latin teachers with an M.A. and some teaching experience; a doctor (M.D.) for a small hospital in Ghana; a Lecturer in mathematics for an English-speaking university in South Africa. Inquiries may be made to the Institute's Placement Service, 1234 20th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

► The Airlist October 1957, containing the names of 12 prospective placees, was mailed to more than 350 African schools and recruiting agencies. A simple breakdown indicates the types of people who apply: 75% of the group are married, averaging 2½ children each; 75% have an M.A. or M.S. degree; teaching ex-

perience ranges from 4 to 15 years; 5 teach in the field of social science, 6 in natural science and one in economics. The applicants are average American secondary teachers who are anxious to share their knowledge with students of developing countries.

► Teachers are paid according to a government approved scale, the point of entry on the scale being determined by the Ministry of Education on the basis of academic degrees held, actual teaching experience, etc. In addition to the base pay, an inducement and outfit allowance is given, along with free transportation for husband, wife, and up to three children. Housing is furnished either free or at a stated percentage of the base pay, i.e., 5, 7, or 10%, depending on the facilities available at the school. Contracts may be for 2, 3 or 5 years. The school year is divided into thirds, and paid leave is available after each third with long leave coming at the end of the year. All these emoluments combined probably do not equal the base starting salary of most teachers in America, but in view of the relatively lower cost of living in Africa, Americans who have taught there—both single and married—seem to have come out about "even" financially.—R. J. Smyke.

COMING EVENTS

●AFRICA HOUSE (1727 S Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.)

FRI., DEC. 13, 9 am. Guided tour of the National Institute of Health, limited to students of science and medicine. Cooperating agency: International Student House.

SAT., DEC. 21, 5 pm. International Students Bazaar at Africa House, planned in cooperation with the Arab Student Association and the Caribbean Association. Games, Gifts, Dancing, Refreshments.

RECURRENT ACTIVITIES: Africa House Rec Room is available to students and their guests for pingpong, table games, social dancing. These facilities are open throughout the week; however, Friday night is the regular Game Night.

EVERY MON., 7 pm.-8pm. Swahili lessons are offered by Mr. Tom Okelo, student teacher from Kenya.

For further information call CO 5-6492

●THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL (156 Fifth Ave., N.Y.) Assembly meets in Accra, Ghana, Dec. 28 - Jan. 8 for a world mission conference. The Council will hold an All Africa Christian Conference in Ibadan, Nigeria, Jan. 10-20 in a first attempt to bring together, across denominational and territorial lines, representative Christian leaders from all of Africa south of the Sahara.

CHAPMAN APPOINTED GHANA AMBASSADOR TO UNITED STATES



CHAPMAN

MR. DANIEL AHMLING CHAPMAN, former Secretary to Prime Minister Nkrumah and the Cabinet and Ghana's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, is now Ghana's Ambassador to the United States. Mr. Chapman studied at Achimota College, Ghana; Oxford, England; and in the U.S. at Columbia University and New York University. He served for many years in the UN Secretariat in New York and for the past three years has been one of Nkrumah's chief advisers. Mr. Chapman has travelled widely in Europe and Africa. He is married and has five children.

"Africa Special Report" is published by the African-American Institute, a private, non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and devoted to establishing closer bonds between the peoples of Africa and the United States. Other activities of the Institute include: student loan and scholarship programs, teacher placement in Africa, and a variety of lecture, information and visitor services.

Board of Trustees

President: Dr. Emory Ross, missionary and consultant on Africa.
Vice-President: Judge Edward R. Dudley, former United States Ambassador to Liberia.
Treasurer: Lansdell K. Christie, President of the Liberia Mining Company.
Secretary: E. Ladd Thurston, Washington Attorney.

Chairman, Executive Committee: Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board of the American Metal Company; Chairman, Scholarship Committee: Alan Pifer, Executive Assistant, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Chairman, Publications Committee: Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff; Dr. Horace Mann Bond, President Honorarius, Lincoln University; Chester Bowles, former United States Ambassador to India; Dr. L. Gray Cowan, Columbia University; Dana S. Creel, Director, Rockefeller Brothers Fund; John B. George, ex-officio; William Leo Hansberry, Professor of African History, Howard University.

Executive Staff

John B. George, Director; E. Jefferson Murphy, Director-Designate, West African Office; John M. Livingston, Staff Associate; Raymond J. Smyke, Staff Associate.

Membership

Annual Membership \$3, student membership \$1; includes receipt of "Africa Special Report."

'Anti-Colonialism' Attacked

In Defence of Colonies, by Sir Alan Burns, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1957

By VERNON McKAY

The heart of Sir Alan Burns' latest book is not its "defense of colonies," which is scant and cursory, but its stimulating and provocative attack on "anti-colonialism". At the end of a distinguished career of more than forty years in the colonial service, Sir Alan was appointed in 1947 to a quite different post as United Kingdom Representative on the United Nations Trusteeship Council. His lifetime of experience, he hoped, would enable him to play a constructive role in the Council, in the tradition of Lord Lugard in the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. In the emotional atmosphere of U.N. discussions, however, Sir Alan had to listen too often to a "venomous" berating of the major ideas and ideals of his life, an experience which "completely disillusioned" him in the value of the U.N.'s efforts to help colonial peoples. His reactions to this nine-year ordeal reveal the depth of his own emotions as well as those of his anti-colonial critics.

In Defence of Colonies is divided into two parts. Eight chapters are devoted to historical and legal arguments refuting the territorial claims of eight other States to ten British dependencies. More significant and interesting are the first ten chapters, in which Sir Alan responds to the "general attack on British colonialism" by launching a two-fold offensive of his own. He charges that the critics of colonialism are usually ill-informed and emotional, and he contends that more than half the independent States in the United Nations contain backward native peoples who have less political liberty, fewer educational opportunities, and a lower standard of living than the indigenous inhabitants of British and other dependent territories. Sir Alan acknowledges that his onslaught on Britain's critics is unsatisfactory as a defense of colonialism, but he believes it necessary "if a proper sense of proportion is to be gained."

Although it may be somewhat unfair to quote an author out of context, the general tone of the book is reflected with reasonable accuracy in the following quotations. Sir Alan argues that the attack on British colonialism is a "smoke-screen" with which other States "cover their own shortcomings" (p. 5). The U.N.'s approach to colo-

DR. McKAY is Professor of African Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University. He served on United States delegations to many sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, the Trusteeship Council, and the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, between 1948 and 1956.

onial matters, he says, "does positive harm to dependent peoples" (p. 99). In the Trusteeship Council, "it is unfortunately a fact that any petition, however fantastic, is accepted (by anti-colonial critics, he evidently means) as Gospel truth" (p. 120). It is "extremely doubtful whether even the best intentioned of our critics among the 'anti-colonial' members could make any useful constructive suggestion to assist us in our administration" (p. 104). "The mildest criticism of his own country's administration by the representative of an administering authority would be seized on as a damning admission of national guilt, and the criticism would be twisted and exaggerated almost beyond recognition by unscrupulous opponents" (p. 117). Finally, "The anti-colonial atti-

tude of the United States has been a great help to Communist policy in the past but there is fortunately a growing realization of this fact in responsible American circles" (p. 297). In making unqualified statements such as these the author has told something less than the whole story. A man of intelligence and integrity, Sir Alan would no doubt acknowledge that his attack is one-sided. Perhaps the key to the understanding of the book lies in the fact that Sir Alan, now in private life, is airing the feelings he would like to have expressed in the Trusteeship Council and General Assembly had he not been shackled by U.N. rules of procedure and by his own sense of propriety as a British representative.

The author merits appreciation for his energy and industry in writing this and four other useful volumes on the British colonies during a busy official life. *In Defence of Colonies* should not be judged as a scholarly analysis of U.N. disputes over the colonial issue but as a partly autobiographical narrative by one of the partisans in the controversy. In this respect the book has a double value. For uninformed readers who are inclined to take the "general attack on British colonialism" at its face value, Sir Alan's story gives a new and useful perspective on attitudes, motives, and political behavior in the United Nations. For readers interested in the scientific study of political behavior, the book is important source material on British attitudes as reflected in Sir Alan's judgments of Britain's critics.

Sir Alan concludes his attack on anti-colonialism with a warning that should not be taken lightly. "There is no reason," he writes, "why we should continue to participate in the illegally constituted Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories." Moreover, he adds, "it is to be hoped" that the United Kingdom delegation would withdraw from the Fourth or Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly if that Committee disregards a previous British warning and "insists on discussing the political and constitutional affairs of the British colonies and protectorates, which it has no right to do . . ." (p. 300). Whether or not Sir Alan is correct as to the "illegality" of U.N. actions, it would certainly weaken the U.N.'s machinery if the most important and most progressive of the colonial powers refused further cooperation with the above-mentioned Committees. The anti-colonial powers seem to be aware of this danger however, and they retreat when they find they are pushing the British to the verge of withdrawal.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

AN AFRICAN SURVEY, *Revised 1956*, by Lord Hailey. London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 1676 p. £5.5s. The present volume, similar in objective and form to the monumental *African Survey* of 1938, is largely a new work and the greater part of the book has been rewritten.

ETHNIC AND CULTURAL PLURALISM IN INTERTROPICAL COMMUNITIES, report of the 20th meeting of International Institute of Differing Civilizations. 11, Boulevard de Waterloo, Brussels, Belgium. 680 p. Presents the conclusions of the conference, broken down into legal and political, economic, social, and cultural aspects, as well as the French and English reports by conference delegates on intertropical areas including British and French Africa.

WEST AFRICA, R. J. Harrison Church. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957. 547 p., 45/. This detailed study of West Africa is the result of extensive field trips to the area and research in many languages. The three parts into which the book is divided deal with the physical basis of West Africa, the resources and their development, and the political divisions, taken country by country.

DAVID LIVINGSTONE, HIS LIFE AND LETTERS, by George Seaver. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. \$6.95. In this perceptive and moving account of the life work of one of Africa's greatest figures, the author has torn Livingstone clear of the legend and romanticism which has clung to his name and his mistakes and weaknesses can be seen abundantly. Yet the Livingstone Seaver so ably brings to life is little less than a titan.

SOUTH AFRICA: Last Trek or New Deal?

The Last Trek: A Study of the Boer People and the Afrikaner Nation, by Sheila Patterson, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., London. 1957. 336 p.

BY J. P. BRUWER

Modern anthropological studies dealing with the indigenous peoples of Africa mainly center round the various groups of non-white stock. Very little scientific attention has been paid to the existence of a white indigenous people, the Afrikaners of South Africa, who emerged from the soil of Africa over a period of three centuries and bear the same unmistakable signs of a long period of colonial rule as do many of their non-white indigenous neighbors to-day. For this reason the publication of *The Last Trek* is a welcome sign—it does give evidence of the genesis, development and present existence of an indigenous white people

Professor Johannes P. Bruwer is an anthropologist at Stellenbosch University, Cape Province, Union of South Africa. He is editor of the numerous South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) publications. Dr. Bruwer spent sixteen years as a lay missionary of the Dutch Reform Church in Northern Rhodesia.

in Africa, the Afrikaners, even if that were its only merit.

Sheila Patterson briefly traces the birth and development of a new people in Africa from the earliest free burghers in 1657, through the Great Trek of 1836 and the creation of the free republics to the struggle between Boer and Briton in 1899-1902. She then summarizes the events after the war, the rise of Afrikaner cultural sentiments, and concludes that "the mythology now being propagated is a Voortrekker mythology." She

goes into more detail about the birth of a language, the nation and party, the poor white problem, the drift to the towns, the role of the church, education and a number of cultural and social institutions, and ultimately generalizes about Boers and Afrikaners in a way which is apparently self-assured but shows very little indication of a true scientific evaluation of the Afrikaner people of to-day.

The book is aptly described on the dust-cover as "an attempt by a critical but often sympathetic outsider to evaluate the historic factors that produced the Boer people, and the political, religious and economic forces that maintain modern Afrikaner Nationalism." I find it necessary to underline an attempt since the book is obviously nothing more than that and not very successful in the attempt. The reason is apparent. The writer tries to draw a clear distinction between Boers and Afrikaners, in other words between those who *were* and those who *are*. This appears to be sure proof of the simple fact that a fundamental understanding of the Afrikaner people of to-day is eminently lacking in this study. The evaluation of the present day Afrikaner follows exactly the same pattern as that encountered in the "paper-mâché villain" representation of the Afrikaner, only it is done more subtly in a cloak of so-called scientific study and sympathetic attitude to the Boers that were.

This may be severe criticism of an "objective" evaluation by an outsider, but the outsider has of herself typified her study "to trace the development of Boer into Afrikaner of oppressed nationhood into oppressive nationalism . . ." To her the Boers represent the oppressed nationhood. And there the sympathy ends because the Boers apparently are no more and only the oppressive nationalism, the present-day Afrikaner remains.

Naturally the Afrikaner cannot claim sympathy from outsiders who do not really try to evaluate objectively. And objectiveness can hardly be expected if the author admits the use of material from certain sources which, according to material published, are very definitely biased as far as the Afrikaner and his institutions are concerned. I refer to certain sources mentioned by the author in her foreword. The Afrikaner as a people, however, may claim a better deal than the simple label of the author, namely "oppressive nationalism," which is based on a wrong interpretation of trends and isolated political creeds by irresponsible individuals. It is quite understandable that racial theories of oppression are read into the way of life of the Afrikaner, because many outsiders who do the reading evaluate according to norms they themselves have developed over a long period of colonial rule. It does not follow, however, that either the reading or the evaluation is correct. The author's statement that "fear of the black man is a real and definite emotion" and the other "amorphous bogies" she quotes represent her own theories and not the emotions of the Afrikaner.

AFRIKANER VIEWS

Man van Cirène, by Frans Venter (can be ordered from Van Schaik's Bookstore, Church St., Pretoria, Union of So. Africa)

BY AN AFRIKANER *

I have said so before and I say it again: The time is past for the syrupy treatment of religious and cultural theories in Afrikaans literature. The Sputnik age compels us to be realists, casting aside old beliefs and attitudes which were valid when the Voortrekker wagons rolled across the Drakensberg. They are now sadly out of date.

When Afrikaans authors wrote about the color problem they were content to portray only the idyllic figure of the faithful old servant. Religious novels—I think of D. F. Malherbe—glorified every Biblical situation.

Now at last an Afrikaans writer, 40-year-old, fair-haired Frans Venter, has had the courage to bring some realism into religious themes.

He has written a book *Man van Cirène* in which the Biblical character Simon, who carried Christ's cross, does what every man in Christendom does today—he takes stock of the reasons why one should believe in Christianity.

Venter's book is a penetrating novel in which he does not disguise the doubts that might arise in every thinking Christian's mind.

When I spoke to Venter yesterday he said: "I wanted for a long time to delineate the reaction of the man in the street under the impact of Christianity. I wanted to portray him as a human being filled with bewilderment and uncertainty."

Afrikaans writers such as Venter are the answer to people who indict our men of letters of refusing to face the realities. Before Simon, who is a Black Jew from Cyrenaica, is converted he undergoes much torment of the soul.

*From "An Afrikaner Diary" in *The Star*, October 22, 1957, Johannesburg.

"Traffic in Filth", an Editorial translated from the Johannesburg paper, *Dagbreek En Sondagnuus* *

We have drawn two conclusions from the report of the Cronje Commission on Undesirable Publications: firstly that after this report, the Government will definitely have to do something; and secondly, that judging by the hitherto almost unanimous reactions, the Commission has not succeeded in presenting the Government with a solution to its problem.

The element which makes this such an extremely valuable report and consequently warrants the time and money spent on it, is the comprehensive survey the Commission has made and the picture it has presented of both the incidence of undesirable literature in our country and the effect it has on our public taste and morals.

Our firm conviction is that no civilized community can connive at an almost unrestricted traffic in filthy literature . . .

But the machinery recommended by the Commission for controlling publications amounts to censorship in the final instance. And censorship is too dangerous a course for a free country to adopt, no matter how reluctantly. Such measures are introduced for a very long time, and also for future circumstances which we cannot foresee and determine today. Indeed, it has already become clear from some of the things the Commission wishes to be banned how undesirable the arbitrary decisions can be of one person or a few persons, even with the best intentions!

A problem such as this could and should be dealt only with the mutual co-operation of the authorities and the people who are primarily concerned with it—editors and publishers.

*Courtesy of Willem Van Heerden, Editor, *Dagbreek*.

It is true that the Afrikaner of to-day has many shortcomings. It is true that he has entered a critical phase of his own history in Africa. But it is equally true that those characteristics with which the author sympathizes in the old Boer are still part and parcel of the Afrikaner. He still loves democratic freedom, he still is hospitable and dignified, and he still has a sense for moral values. If the author could find only "waning traditions, Islamic fatalism, Herrenvolkism, aggressiveness and hyper-sensitive attitude," she surely did not meet the Afrikaner people at large. She could not have stayed in their homes, attended their religious services, and experienced their deep concern about their cultural heritage. Neither could she have learned about their equally deep concern in the field of human relations in their country. She could not have noticed that the Afrikaners are not "prepared to go down before the black hordes in glorious sunset defeat," but are sincerely endeavoring to bring about a new deal, a new understanding and a new hope.

The writer's statement: "Now that they are assured of political domination

COMMENTS ON *The Last Trek*:

Afrikaner J. P. Basson, Nationalist Party Member of Parliament: "Anyway, to look at oneself as others see one, warts and all, is often interesting and seldom unprofitable."

A Dutch Reformed Church reply by Rev. Boshoff of Johannesburg: "The Afrikaner volk (nation) is not on its last trek, but on its greatest trek—the trek towards one another, with God in the middle."

south of the Zambesi, national-minded Afrikaners have begun to look further afield" is an absurdity. The Afrikaner has political significance only south of the Limpopo and from there it is still a long distance to the Zambesi. What interests he has north of the Limpopo are of a purely religious nature in the mission fields of the Afrikaner churches in the Federation of Central Africa, Kenya and the Sudan. If "close co-operation between all countries who have interests in Africa" is to be interpreted as imperialism, as the author apparently does, then there is little hope for understanding in the world and least in Africa. But here, apparently again, the writer has applied a norm created by a long experience of colonial rule by her own people. Others do not of necessity have the same norm.

As the author has correctly indicated, great dangers are confronting the Afrikaner people. Not the least of these is the oppressive nationalist Afrikaner villain created in publications such as *The Last Trek*. As is the case with all young peoples and nations just emerged from a long period of colonial rule, the Afrikaner still has to adjust himself to a new position of responsible statesmanship. In the transition stage he is apt to make mistakes. But the indications are there that the Afrikaner people are already adapting themselves to modern world trends in the same way that they have

what Russia reads about Africa

A writer on world affairs who spent nearly two years in the Soviet Union and wrote a successful book once made a comment to me that I thought contained perhaps the most significant observation he had made during his stay in the USSR. He said: "Everywhere you see people reading—on trams, in the subway, at stations waiting for trains—and not just light fare; books on geography, history, physics, classical novels and the like."

One of the reasons for this is that newspapers are duller fare than in the USA. Another is that available books on serious subjects are much cheaper in the USSR than in America. No doubt there are other reasons. At any rate, the Soviet reader is given background by his government on a number of newsworthy topics and Africa seems to be no exception.

It would be impossible to walk into a bookstore in the United States and find a series of booklets on Africa selling for a nickel each. But for 50 kopecks (less than five cents at the current rate of exchange) a Soviet reader can get "*Madagascar, South-West Africa and the Union of South Africa*," only one in a series of brochures entitled COUNTRIES OF AFRICA.

This brochure, published in what the Soviets term a "mass-popular reference series," was considered sufficiently interesting by the State Publishing House for Geographical Literature to warrant printing 150,000 copies. It would seem logical that schools would be interested (at that price) to furnish geography classes with such a pamphlet.

What does the reader find in the 31 pages of text? Concise summaries of geographical facts on each of the three areas, including climate, topography, population, economy and trade, communications etc. The Soviet reader's impression of African life is hardly favorable: "Colonial exploitation creates the toughest conditions for the Malagasy people many of whom are on the verge of semi-starvation and are cut down (35-40% before age 15) by TB and other disease. Lack of education and

required forced labor is the lot for natives of South-West Africa." Opportunities to paint a black portrait of the Union are not lost. But even without the political slant, the buyer gets more than his money's worth from this pamphlet.

It is questionable whether 2 Americans out of 100 have any idea of where the Yemen is located, let alone details about the country itself. A popular book on the Yemen is unknown in the USA. No American atlas prints any detailed map of that

AFRICA THROUGH RUSSIAN EYES

A Series
BY CHRISTOPHER BIRD

feudal land. Yet in popular series, ON THE WORLD MAP, the Soviets have seen fit to include the Yemen—48 pages, a detailed relief map and several pictures; cost: less than a ruble. I hold one of the 100,000 copies issued. I couldn't match this concise summary in the United States without going to an encyclopedia or specialist literature in a library.

The Yemen is currently being supplied with Soviet-made arms. The same government offering arms to Yemen provides its own masses with a popular rendering of its view on this small, seemingly insignificant country lying a short distance from the coasts of Ethiopia and Somaliland.

* * *

Russian explorers and travellers in Africa are hardly known to westerners. They walk their routes again in two recent Soviet publications. One is a popular booklet including data on Russians who travelled in the Nile Basin, the Atlas Mountains, Central Africa and Ethiopia, "Russian Travellers in Africa," (by M. P. Zabrodskaya, Publishing House for Geography, Moscow 1955, 87 pp.). It also briefly reviews Soviet expeditions to the continent. The other (*Russkie ekspeditsii v Efiopii v seredine XIX-nachale XX v i ikh etnograficheskie materialy*), is a scholarly study covering all the expeditions to Ethiopia during the Tsarist era.

adapted themselves in the past to Africa's changing moods. Therefore the future of the Afrikaner need not of necessity lie "in the event of atomic war and devastation leading to the resumption of isolated tribal life far from the main centers of urban civilization" as the author so naively predicts.

It will lie in the Afrikaner's sense of basic values. And for the Afrikaner these values are not hatred, but love of free-

dom for all. He knows the struggle for freedom. He has himself experienced it for three centuries. He knows the urge of Africa's people. He himself is one of them. He knows the pains of oppressive rule. He himself has tasted them. Thus, while the Afrikaner will always defend his right to existence, out of his own experience will most undoubtedly grow a new approach and a new deal for his non-white neighbor in South Africa.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE, Inc.

Department of Geography
University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Reader:

This issue must bring to a close the free distribution period of Africa Special Report. You may have been receiving it for two years, or only during the last few months when our circulation has sputtered to 10,000.

The popularity of our publication has led to a rapid increase in our production and mailing costs. The African-American Institute can no longer cover these, with its limited resources, without restricting our scholarship, placement, and Africa House programs, at a time when we want to expand our scholarship offerings.

We would like to continue free distribution because we believe that a wider and deeper knowledge of Africa by Americans is in the best interests of the people and governments of Africa and of the American people.

Our introductory subscription price of \$1 is placed as low as possible to cover our increased costs.

You have in your hands the fourth issue of Africa Special Report in its new and enlarged format. The quality of recent outstanding articles by such men as De Kiewiet, Apter, Zake, and Hodgkin, will be maintained in 1958, plus new and timely features.

We have appreciated your moral support in the past and very much hope for your financial support now that we must continue on a regular subscription basis.

ASANTA DANKE WEEBALE THANK YOU MERCI SANNU A DUPE OYIWA DONG

Edwin S. Munger

Edwin S. Munger
Chairman, Publications Committee
Board of Trustees

PS If you have already sent in your subscription, we thank you and know you will enjoy and profit from Africa Special Report in 1958.

UNDER THE subscription plan now being introduced, continued receipt of this publication will cost you only \$1 a year. Simply fill in this blank and mail it with your remittance to: Africa Special Report, 1234 20th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Name _____
(PLEASE PRINT)

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Country _____

Check if by Air Mail ☐ I enclose _____ in payment

DO YOU HAVE friends in the U. S., Europe or Africa who would appreciate an introduction to Africa Special Report? If so, please list them below so that we may send trial copies. Thank you!

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Country _____

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Country _____

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Country _____

A "MUST" FOR EDITORS, LIBRARIES,
BUSINESSMEN, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS,
CLASSROOMS, ALL THINKING PEOPLE
IN THE U. S. AND ABROAD

Yours for \$1 a year by surface mail
anywhere in the world.

U. S. and Canada	\$1.00
U. K., British African Territories, South Africa, Ghana	7/
France, North Africa	420 fr.
French Territories in Africa	210 CFA fr.
Belgium, Belgian Congo	50 fr.
Samalia	7 somalos
Ethiopia	\$2.50 Eth.
Portugal, Portuguese Africa	29 escudos

AIR MAIL

U. S., Canada	\$3
Europe	\$9
North Africa	\$10
West Africa	\$12
East & Central Africa	\$13.50
Southern Africa	
South Africa, Federation)	\$15.25

Make checks and money orders payable
to AFRICA-SPECIAL REPORT

1234 20TH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

SPECIAL REPORT

GIFT & EXCHANGE DIVISION
OHIO STATE UNIV LIBRARY
COLUMBUS 10, OHIO



UNITED STATES
GIFT & EXCHANGE DIVISION

UNITED STATES
GIFT & EXCHANGE DIVISION